CHAPTER 12

FORCE PLANNING AND U.S. DEFENSE POLICY

John F. Troxell

> You cannot make decisions simply by asking yourself whether something might be nice to have. You have to make a judgement on how much is enough.
>
> Robert S. McNamara
> April 20, 1963

As the preceding chapters of this book argue, strategy formulation begins with an understanding of the nation's security goals and objectives. To complete the process of developing a coherent military strategy, and perhaps the most difficult step, is to plan the forces needed to implement the strategy. It is clear that declaratory policy must come first, but then follows the complex task of force planning, best defined as the attempt to create a military force structure of the right size and right composition to achieve the nation's security goals.[1] Force planning involves an evaluation of the threats to the national interests, the establishment of military requirements within given constraints, and finally an assessment of the risk of failure. The risks in the ends-ways-means strategy formulation process can be manifested as an ends-means mismatch, or a ways–means mismatch. Strategists and force planners consequently find themselves engaged in an iterative process of minimizing the mismatches by either modifying the ends, adjusting the ways, or changing the means to maximize the ability to protect and further the national goals.[2] The process of risk management will be covered in more detail in the next chapter.

Ever since the end of the Cold War, the United States has been struggling to gain consensus on an appropriate force planning methodology and answer the question "how much is enough" concerning the size of its military establishment. This was the principal topic of the first Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) and the National Defense Panel's (NDP) Alternative Force Structure Assessment, and remains an important task for the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century and, most likely, future QDRs.

Most defense analysts would claim that during the Cold War the force planning task was relatively straightforward. The threat posed by the Soviet Union required the fielding of forces capable of conducting a global war, with priority placed on defending Western Europe. This situation served as the agreed scenario around which to design and develop forces and measure risks if specific force goals were not met. Force modernization programs were also directly linked to maintaining a qualitative advantage over projected improvements in Soviet capabilities. In addition, the Cold War force was so large that all other military requirements, such as forces for forward presence, smaller scale interventions, and humanitarian operations, could be met as lesser-included requirements. One author has described this process as the "classic" force planning approach.[3]

During the post-Cold War period, the sizing function that replaced the global war scenario has been the requirement to be able to prosecute major theater war (MTW). This requirement evolved during the last years of the Bush administration as the rationale for the Base Force. The first act of the new Clinton administration was to study the issue, producing the Bottom Up Review (BUR) Force. The Base Force and the BUR Force were both sized against the requirement to fight two MTWs. This force-sizing requirement was revalidated in the 1997 Quadrennial Defense Review but continues to generate a great deal of controversy. Depending on the point of view, the force structure associated with this posture is attacked for being over-stuffed, unaffordable, or totally inadequate.[4] The purpose of this chapter is to examine force-planning techniques used to determine the appropriate means to successfully execute U.S. defense and military strategy, and to suggest some options and adjustments that force planners can apply in the future.

FORCE PLANNING METHODOLOGIES.

In designing forces to protect U.S. national interests, military planners must accomplish three tasks: determine how much force is required to protect those interests with a certain degree of assured success or a minimum degree of acceptable risk; determine how to posture that force; and finally convince Congress and the public that the solutions for the first two tasks are reasonably correct.[5] The issue of creating well-reasoned force structure requirements and convincing cost conscious politicians is not an inconsequential matter.

Since the advent of the Cold War, military planners have used two very different force-planning methodologies.[6] The easiest to conceptualize is **threat-based planning**. This methodology is preeminent when threats to U.S. interests are easily recognized and identified. The task for the planner is to postulate a reasonable scenario, or a specific military contingency, then determine the amount of force needed to prevail in that scenario. This approach lends itself to dynamic and static modeling and provides a quantifiable rationale for the recommended force structure, and answers the question: Can the United States defeat the opponent or prevail in the postulated contingencies? The logic of this approach is very compelling and greatly facilitates accomplishing the planner's third task—convincing the public and Congress.

The second major methodology is generally referred to as **capabilities-based** planning. Somewhat harder to conceptualize, analysts have proposed several variants of the same basic theme. Capabilities-based planning is most in vogue when threats to U.S. interests are multifaceted and uncertain, and do not lend themselves to single point scenario-based analysis. Instead of focusing on one or more specific opponents, the planner applies a liberal dose of military judgment to determine the appropriate mix of required military capabilities. Capabilities-based planners claim to focus on objectives rather than scenarios. Forces are sized either by a resource constraint emphasis (budget driven), or by focusing on generic military missions required to protect U.S. interests. A major problem planners have with this approach is convincing Congress that military judgment has established the proper linkage between this uncertain future environment and the specific force levels requested.[7] The general characteristics of these two methodologies are summarized in Figure 1.

	Purpose	Road to War	Force Determinants	Total Force Requirement
Threat based	Defeat the enemy	Scenarios (point-estimates of likely contingencies)	Wargaming (static and dynamic modeling)	Force sized to prevail in desired number of contingencies
Capabilities based: Resource focus	Optimize based on cost	Multifaceted and uncertain threats	Military Judgement (focus on inputs)	Adequate and affordable mix of capabilities
Mission focus	Accomplish required military objectives	Generic military missions	Military Judgement (focus on outputs)	Size force to carry out missions

Figure 1. Force Planning Methodologies.

FORCE PLANNING IN THE COLD WAR.

Threat-based planning was the principal method employed to size U.S. forces during the Cold War. With the acceptance by the National Security Council of NSC 68 on April 7, 1950, the Soviet threat was clearly recognized. In the words of Secretary of State Acheson, the Soviet Union confronted the United States with a "threat [which] combined the ideology of communist doctrine and the power of the Russian state into an aggressive expansionist drive."[8] The first task for military planners was to develop a strategic nuclear deterrent, both to protect survival interests and to extend this deterrent to protect vital interests represented by regional alliances, the most important of which was NATO. Military planners also addressed the need for conventional forces. In accordance with the threat-based methodology, war in central Europe became the dominant scenario. NATO developed a series of force goals designed to counter a predetermined level of Soviet forces. In the Lisbon Agreement of February 1952, for instance, the NATO ministers set a goal for 1954 of 9,000 aircraft and 90 divisions.[9] President Eisenhower, however, desired "security with solvency" and had as one of his administration's principal goals, the cutting of the federal budget. To stabilize defense spending, the "New Look" defense program de-emphasized conventional forces and stressed the deterrent and war-fighting potential of nuclear weapons. The risk associated with conventional force shortfalls was ameliorated by U.S. reliance on nuclear weapons. Limited war capabilities however, were not completely discounted. General Maxwell Taylor, while Army Chief of Staff, established the requirement for the Army to be able "to close a corps of three divisions in an overseas theater in two months," with the necessary logistical backup to fight those forces.[10] Force planning in the fifties, although firmly grounded in threat-based analysis, also contained important elements based on resource (Ike's New Look) and mission based capabilities analysis (Taylor's corps).

The Kennedy administration discarded the "New Look" and adopted the concept of "Flexible Response" as the foundation of its defense policy. At the center of "flexible response" theory was the assumption that deterring and fighting with nonnuclear forces would reduce

the likelihood of nuclear escalation. Secretary of Defense McNamara argued that the U.S. needed a "two-and-one-half-war" conventional war capability sufficient to: mount a defense of Western Europe against a Soviet attack; defend either Southeast Asia or Korea against a Chinese attack; and still meet a contingency elsewhere.[11] McNamara recognized the challenges of conducting defense planning under uncertainty, notably the need for defense programs to provide capabilities that would eventually be used in unforeseen contingencies. From this arose the concept of rationalizing force structure in terms of the most stressing threats (the Soviet Union and China), but training and equipping the forces for flexibility.[12] Army Chief of Staff, General Earle Wheeler, claimed:

> . . .we have created versatile, and flexible general purpose forces which can be tailored to the requirements of emergency situations. For these purposes, the relatively new United States Strike Command (STRICOM), has been provided eight combat-ready Army divisions, a commensurate amount of Tactical Air combat power, and the necessary airlift to cope with a number of limited war situations.[13]

STRICOM's mission was to provide a general reserve of combat ready forces to reinforce other unified commands, and plan and conduct contingency operations. McNamara used contingency planning to hedge against uncertainty and reasoned that if U.S. forces could cope with the most threatening contingencies, they should suffice to deal with the other, unexpected challenges that might arise.[14] Once again, force planners combined elements from threat and capabilities based planning.

The Nixon, Ford, and Carter administrations chose a less conservative strategy. As National Security Adviser, Henry Kissinger launched a reexamination of the assumptions of the 2 ½- war strategy. The collapse of the Sino-Soviet bloc and recognition that the United States had never generated the forces required for the 2 ½-war strategy, led to the adoption of the 1 ½-war strategy. President Nixon outlined the rationale in his report to Congress in February 1970:

> In the effort to harmonize doctrine and capability, we chose what is best described as the "1 ½-war" strategy. Under it we will maintain in peacetime general purpose forces adequate for simultaneously meeting a major Communist attack in either Europe or Asia, . . . and contending with a contingency elsewhere.[15]

Within this more conservative framework, planning under uncertainty was always a theme. In 1976, Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger employed multiple planning scenarios in his guidance to the military departments, similar to the Illustrative Planning Scenarios of today. The *DoD Annual Report* two years later noted that U.S. general purpose forces "must be trained, equipped, and supplied so that they can deploy and fight in a wide variety of environments against a range of possible foes."[16]

Flexibility in force planning was advanced further during the Carter administration. The issue of regional contingencies was raised with a particular focus on the Persian Gulf. A 1979 DoD study identified a variety of threats and contingencies and proposed programs to provide broad capabilities for the region without focusing on a single threat or scenario. This capabilities-based effort eventually led to the formation of the Rapid Deployment Joint Task

Force and still later U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM). After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, however, military planners turned almost exclusively to the Soviet threat to Iran as the likely scenario for action in the Persian Gulf.[17]

During the Reagan years military planning was much more clearly grounded in a threat-based approach focused on possible global war with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union appeared to be capable of aggression in several theaters, and U.S. planning had to consider the possibility of simultaneous wars in Southwest Asia and Central Europe. The Office of the Secretary of Defense adopted a force sizing-scenario that postulated a Soviet invasion of Iran as the initial event in such a global war. This scenario raised the possibility of war with the Soviet Union on several fronts, either because of Soviet aggression in multiple theaters or because the U.S. might escalate "horizontally" by conducting offensives in regions of Soviet weakness.[18] Despite this possibility of multifront operations however, it was clear that the defense of central Europe was the dominant case for defining military requirements. Nevertheless, the rapid deployment force (RDF) made continued progress during the Reagan buildup. That the purpose and framework of this force were anchored in capabilities-based planning was illustrated in the 1984 *DoD Annual Report*:

> . . . we need a "rapid deployment capability" primarily for those areas of the world in which the U.S. has little or no nearby military infrastructure or, in some cases, maintains no presence at all. There are many locations where we might need to project force, not only in SWA and the Middle East, but also in Africa, Central America, South America, the Caribbean, and elsewhere. Each of these areas has special requirements, but it would be too costly to try to tailor a unique force for each. Therefore we must set priorities . . . and, at the same time, build flexible capabilities that can serve our needs in more than one region.[19]

	Strategy	Scenario (focus)	Leading Methodology	Supporting Effort
Eisenhower 1950s	New Look (nuclear war-fighting)	Strategic nuclear war with the Soviet Union	Capabilities-based (resource variant)	
Kennedy/ Johnson 1960s	Flexible Response (2 and 1/2 wars)	Monolithic Communist threat •Central Europe against Soviet Union •Asia against China •Lesser contingency	Threat-based	Specialized capabilities for intervention operations
Nixon/Ford/ Carter 1970s	1 and 1/2 wars	•War in Central Europe •Lesser contingency	Threat-based	Rapid deployment capabilities (RDJTF)
Reagan 1980s	Horizontal escalation	•Global war with Soviet Union •Possibly triggered by Soviet invasion of Iran	Threat-based	Continued development of rapid deployment capabilities

Figure 2. Cold War Force Planning.

Force planning during the Reagan years, and indeed for all administrations during the Cold War, was threat-based, but not to the exclusion of important contributions derived from the capabilities-based approach. "Threat analysis was an important variable in the strategy development process," one RAND analyst concludes in this regard, "but it was far from the only factor, or even the most important."[20] During the entire period, Secretaries of Defense were consistently concerned with planning under uncertain conditions and thus made regional distinctions and considered contingencies other than the standard Soviet attack on Central Europe.[21] In addition, U.S. Cold War force structure was generally large and diverse enough to respond to numerous lesser-included contingencies.[22] In the end, the combination of force planning methods worked well for the U.S. in the Cold War. But, as Figure 2 demonstrates, it was the threat-based foundation that primarily contributed to the widespread political support for decades of high defense spending.

POST-COLD WAR FORCE PLANNING.

"Uncertainty is not a mere nuisance requiring a bit of sensitivity analysis," Paul Davis points out; "it is a dominant characteristic of serious planning."[23] The U.S. military is well aware of this fact, but has had difficulty during the current transition in selling it to Congress and the public. The principal problem is the lack of the all-consuming threat that focused the nation's attention on the problem of containing the USSR for over four decades. This force planning framework has evaporated in the post-Cold War era, leaving little agreement on appropriate threats, contingencies, or required capabilities against which to focus the defense establishment.

THE BASE FORCE.

In an effort to demonstrate military responsiveness to changes in the strategic and budgetary environments, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell, developed the Base Force in the early 1990s. This force was considered the minimum force that would still allow the armed forces to meet mission requirements with acceptable risk. The Base Force was developed through a close-hold process by the Program and Budget Analysis Division (PBAD) of the Force Structure, Resource, and Assessment Directorate (J-8) of the Joint Staff, with little analytical support, or formal input from the Services or the CINCs. The suspension of the Joint Strategic Review (JSR) process and the development of the Base Force are manifestations of the Goldwater-Nichols Act, and dramatically demonstrated the shifting focus of the force planning process from the services to the Joint Staff.[24]

The Base Force straddled both the Soviet revolutions of 1988 and 1991, causing the justification and rationale behind the chosen force levels to evolve over time. The initial focus of the Base Force was on a capabilities-based approach to defense planning, driven largely by resource constraints. As a result, the J5 strategists were given the task of determining:

> . . . whether J-8's resource-driven force structure and the Chairman's recommended force posture provided the capability to pursue US objectives. Thus he was to validate from a strategic perspective the force structure that the J-8 had already validated from a programming and budgetary perspective.[25]

The threat was very ill-defined at this point. "I'm running out of demons," General Powell commented in April 1991, "I'm running out of villains. . . . I'm down to Castro and Kim Il Sung."[26] In such an environment, Powell stressed, there were some very real limitations to threat-oriented contingency analysis. The resource-constrained force, he concluded, should instead focus on the combat capabilities needed to ensure that a sufficient array of assets would be present to perform the multiple missions demanded on the modern battlefield.[27] The mission-focused aspect of the Base Force was evident in the three conceptual conventional force packages that eventually became part of the 1992 National Military Strategy (NMS) (Figure 3). Forces for the Atlantic would include forward-based and forward deployed units committed to Europe, and heavy reinforcing forces for Europe, the Middle East, and the Persian Gulf based in the United States. The Pacific Forces differed from the Atlantic package, reflecting the maritime character of the area. Contingency Forces would consist of U.S. based ground, air, and naval forces capable of worldwide deployment as needed.[28]

		ARMY	NAVY	USMC	USAF
ATLANTIC FORCES	FWD Deployed	2 DIV	1 CVBG		3 FWE
	CONUS	3 DIV 6 RC DIV	5 CVBG	1 MEF	2 FWE 11 RC FWE
PACIFIC FORCES	FWD Deployed	2 DIV	1 CVBG	1 MEF	3 FWE
	CONUS		5 CVBG		
CONTINGENCY FORCES	CONUS	5 DIV	Tailored Mix	1 MEF	7 FWE
TOTAL (AC):		**12 DIVs**	**12 CVBGs**	**3 MEFs**	**15 FWEs**

CVBG: Carrier Battle Group MEF: Marine Expeditionary Force FWE: Fighter Wing Equivalent

Source: 1992 NMS

Figure 3. Base Force.

Unfortunately, the advent of and ensuing focus on Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm precluded the Pentagon's strategic planners from completing the analytical construct behind the Base Force, a task that then-Representative Les Aspin was more than willing to undertake. In the first of two national security papers, Aspin attacked capabilities-based force planning, charging that decisions concerning what capabilities were required of U.S. forces could not be done in a vacuum. Instead, he concluded, ". . . it is critical to identify threats to U.S. interests that are sufficiently important that Americans would consider the use of force to secure them."[29] Shortly thereafter, Aspin outlined in a second paper his concept of the "Iraqi equivalent" as the generic threat measure for regional aggressors and the "Desert

Storm equivalent" as the most robust building block for U.S. forces. The purpose was to establish a clear linkage between the force structure and the sorts of threats the forces could be expected to deal with. Aspin also envisioned his "threat-driven" methodology to be flexible enough to include aspects of a typical capabilities-based approach. The building blocks for the methodology, he pointed out, were generic capabilities.

> Although each is informed by a careful review of pertinent historical cases, I am not suggesting we acquire forces which would be suited only to a few places and precedents. I'm suggesting instead generic military capabilities which should be effective against the full spectrum of categorical threats in the uncertain future.[30]

At the same time, within the Pentagon, the rationale for the Base Force evolved into a combined capabilities-based and threat-based approach and became firmly anchored to the two-MTW requirement. In late 1992, General Powell began promoting the Base Force as both capabilities oriented as well as threat oriented. In a few cases such as Korea and Southwest Asia, he pointed out, it was possible to identify particular threats with some degree of certainty.[31] These developments had no effect on the regional focus of the force. In 1992, Secretary of Defense, Richard Cheney reported that, "the ability to respond to regional and local crises is a key element of our new strategy."[32] The "Base Force" National Military Strategy of 1992 concluded that U.S. "plans and resources are primarily focused on deterring and fighting regional rather than global wars."[33] Although neither of these documents specified a two-MTW requirement, the sizing function for this requirement continued to evolve behind the scenes. Both the 1991 and 1992 Joint Military Net Assessments (JMNAs) focused on the warfighting analysis for Major Regional Contingency-East (MRC-East)—Southwest Asia, and MRC-West—Korea. According to Army force planners, the principal focus of US operational planning was "regional crisis response—to include a capability to respond to multiple concurrent major regional contingencies."[34] In his autobiography General Powell clearly states what his National Military Strategy did not: "The Base Force strategy called for armed forces capable of fighting two major regional conflicts 'nearly simultaneously.'"[35]

THE BOTTOM UP REVIEW FORCE.

With a new administration, the Base Force title was jettisoned; but the underpinnings of U.S. force structure remained largely intact. Upon assuming office, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin initiated a comprehensive review of the nation's defense strategy and force structure and published the *Report of the Bottom Up Review* (BUR) in October 1993. The methodology for the BUR combined all threat-based and capabilities-based aspects of the force-planning methodologies. To begin with, there was the traditional assessment of threats and opportunities, the formulation of a strategy to protect and advance U.S. interests, and the determination of the forces needed to implement the strategy. At the same time, there was an evaluation of military missions that included fighting MTWs, conducting smaller scale operations, maintaining overseas presence, and deterring attacks with weapons of mass destruction. The ultimate force-sizing criterion was to "maintain sufficient military power to be able to win two major regional conflicts that occur nearly simultaneously." The planning

and assessment for these MTWs were based on two illustrative scenarios viewed as representative yardsticks with which to assess in "gross terms the capabilities of U.S. forces."[36] From this perspective, the BUR continued the dual focus on both threat and capabilities that had evolved in the Base Force. "The Clinton defense policy," noted RAND analyst Richard L. Kugler points out,

> represents continuity rather than a revolutionary departure, for the changes it makes are relatively small. . . . The chief difference lies in the new policy's call for a smaller conventional posture, but only 10-15 percent smaller than the Bush administration's Base Force.[37]

QUADRENNIAL DEFENSE REVIEW (QDR) AND THE NATIONAL DEFENSE PANEL (NDP).

Despite a degree of continuity and general agreement within the nation's defense establishment concerning the overall framework for the size and posture of U.S. military forces, planners continued to have difficulty with their third task—convincing Congress and the public. The greatest difficulty was persuading Congress that the Pentagon was sufficiently focused on the 21st century and preparing the military to execute the most likely conflicts. As a result, in 1996 Congress passed legislation directing the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to conduct a review of the U.S. defense program and provide a report in 1997. Their review was directed to include

> a comprehensive examination of the defense strategy, force structure, force modernization plans, infrastructure, budget plan and other elements of the defense program . . .[38]

Congress also provided for an independent body of defense experts, designated the National Defense Panel, to both review and comment on the QDR, as well as look slightly further into the future.

The QDR was designed as a strategy-driven review and upon its completion to serve as the overall strategic planning document for the Defense Department. From a force planner's perspective the key features of the QDR were the newly articulated defense strategy of "shape, respond and prepare," and several refinements to force sizing and planning considerations. However, the bottom-line remained an overall requirement "that U.S. forces must be capable of fighting and winning two major theater wars nearly simultaneously."[39]

The shape-respond-prepare strategy recognized the requirements for U.S. military forces to operate in support of U.S. interests across the entire spectrum of operations, from peacetime to wartime. Military forces assist in shaping the international environment through overseas presence, rotational deployments, and various military-to-military programs. Shaping requirements have normally been viewed as a lesser-included capability provided by a larger war-time focused structure. The QDR, however, specifically indicated that the overseas presence mission plays a significant role in determining the size of U.S. naval forces.[40] Responding to the full spectrum of crises, to include major theater wars, remained the most stressing requirement. Although the QDR revalidated the centrality of a 2-MTW force structure, it also placed increased emphasis on capabilities needed for smaller

scale contingencies (SSC). These contingencies are viewed as the most likely challenge for U.S. forces, and the QDR noted a requirement to be able to conduct multiple concurrent smaller-scale contingency operations.[41] One of the difficulties in using this approach as a force structure determinant, however, is that while the military is relatively confident that it knows the types and quantity of forces needed to fight an MTW, it is much less certain of what is needed for SSCs that have a wide variety of objectives and occur in diverse regions of the world.[42] The Joint staff sponsored the Dynamic Commitment wargame series that attempted to identify and quantify a list of military capabilities for smaller scale contingencies. These capabilities, however, are still viewed as a lesser-included subset of the MTW force.

The QDR's analysis continued to represent a blend of threat-based and capabilities-based planning. The principal scenarios remain focused on the threat posed by regional aggressors on the scale of Iraq or North Korea. A slightly expanded scenario set was used to examine threat use of asymmetric strategies, differences in warning time, U.S. force size, and the degree of commitment to ongoing SSCs. The QDR also tested projected capabilities against a range of more challenging threats—a postulated major regional power in the 2014 timeframe. In addition, generic scenarios used a threat force based on the projected capabilities of nations not currently allied with the United States. As the report concludes, "this analysis enabled us to test our projected capabilities against a range of more challenging threats."[43]

The report of the National Defense Panel highlighted another dilemma faced by force planners—building forces for the present or focusing on future requirements. Concerning the present, the NDP acknowledged that the United States cannot afford to ignore near-term threats and that "the two-theater construct has been a useful mechanism for determining what forces to retain as the Cold War came to a close, [and] to some degree, it remains a useful mechanism today."[44] But the panel also argued that today's threats are not necessarily the ones the U.S. will face in the future, expressing concern that the two MTW construct is becoming an inhibitor to achieving the capabilities needed in the 2010-2020 time frame. The panel suggested a fundamental change: "The United States needs a transformation strategy that enables us to meet a range of security challenges in 2010-2020 without taking undue risk in the interim."[45]

Before leaving this brief look at recent force structure reviews, one additional effort deserves mention as a significant capabilities-based force design effort. At the same time that the United states was engaged in the QDR and NDP, the United Kingdom was also trying to determine the appropriate size and posture for its military forces to respond to the changing environment of the 21st Century. Their effort was called the Strategic Defence Review (SDR). Although the QDR and SDR followed similar processes, the report of the SDR is valuable because it is much more detailed and transparent. Beginning with a policy review that identified national interests and commitments, the SDR focused on specific missions and military tasks and assessed the forces and capabilities needed to conduct those tasks. The capabilities assessments relied primarily on a concept called "scale of effort." Scales of effort are planning tools that postulate a projected size of an operation, for example, a medium scale operation is a brigade size deployment similar to Bosnia, and a large scale operation is a division size deployment similar to the contribution to the Persian Gulf war. Planners determined the force elements required for each military task given assumptions about the

scale of effort. This approach is similar to the Dynamic Commitment wargame mentioned above, however, in this case, the force elements for each task—the lesser-included requirements—are clearly delineated in attached tables. The detailed capabilities assessment was validated by scenario-based analysis of medium and large scale force projection operations. The overall force sizing construct was a requirement to conduct two concurrent medium scale operations or one full scale operation. The SDR concluded that "not to be able to conduct two medium scale operations at the same time would be an unacceptable constraint on our ability to discharge Britain's commitments and responsibilities."[46] The SDR is probably the closest model available of a detailed capabilities-based planning effort, and yet it also relied on scenario-based analysis for validation.

TWO-MTW RATIONALE.

In examining the rationale for the two-MTW requirement, it is important to remember that the requirement is not a strategy, but represents the sizing function for the Clinton administration's defense program—the principal determinant of the size and composition of U.S. conventional forces. The nature of this sizing function was clearly articulated by Defense Secretary William Perry in 1996:

> Previously, our force structure was planned to deter a global war with the Soviet Union, which we considered a threat to our very survival as a nation. All other threats, including regional threats, were considered lesser-but-included cases . . . Today, the threat of global conflict is greatly diminished, but the danger of regional conflict is neither lesser nor included and has therefore required us to take this danger explicitly into account in structuring our forces.[47]

The current version of the two-MTW requirement states that the principal determinant of the size and composition of U.S. conventional forces is the capability

> preferably in concert with allies, . . . to deter and, if deterrence fails, defeat large-scale, cross-border aggression in two distant theaters in overlapping timeframes.[48]

Inherent in the acceptance of the 2-MTW force-sizing requirement is the recognition that the U.S. will not be able to conduct sizable contingency operations at the same time it is fighting in two major theaters.[49]

Three principal reasons for this sizing function have emerged during the post-Cold War period. First, as a nation with global interests, the U.S. needs to field a military capability to avoid a situation in which it lacks the forces to deter aggression in one region while fighting in another. "With this capability," the BUR points out,

> we will be confident, and our allies as well as potential enemies will know, that a single regional conflict will not leave our interests and allies in other regions at risk.[50]

The historical evidence in support of the 2-MTW requirement is much stronger than detractors are willing to acknowledge. There have been, for instance, 22 nearly simultaneous

crises requiring the deployment and use of military force from 1946 to 1991.[52] The likelihood of such occurrences has increased in the absence of the Cold War superpower restraints.

A second reason is that a force capable of defeating two regional adversaries should provide the basic wherewithal to support a defense against a larger-than-expected threat from, as examples, continental-scale adversaries such as Russia or China, or a coalition of regional opponents.[53] Although a peer competitor is not envisioned in the near term, the possibility of confrontations with a larger than MTW threat must be guarded against. This hedge against uncertainty is also required as a practical matter because of the time needed to reconstitute a larger force. "If we were to discard half of this two-MTW capability or allow it to decay," the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Shalikashvili, concluded a few years back, "it would take many years to rebuild a force of comparable excellence. In today's turbulent international environment, where the future posture of so many powerful nations remains precarious, we could find ourselves with too little, too late."[54]

Finally, the 2-MTW sizing function recognizes the increased operational deployment of American forces and allows the U.S. to deter latent threats from regional adversaries when portions of the force are committed to important smaller-scale contingencies and engagement activities in other theaters.[55] Although U.S. participation in smaller-scale contingency operations should not be viewed as a given, if the National Command Authorities (NCA) decide to commit U.S. forces to such operations, the strategy and force structure, as sized by the 2-MTW requirement, could adequately support that commitment.

FORCE PLANNING INTO THE 21st CENTURY.

Force planning in the 21st century is destined to be as controversial and thus as difficult as it has been in the 1990s. A clear understanding of two issues should make the job easier: mission, and the use of scenarios. The strategy formulation process around which the chapters of this book are built clearly emphasizes interest-based, and in turn strategy-driven analysis.

MISSION.

Without an agreement on the mission or strategy, force planning will continue to disappoint. Unfortunately, at the present juncture there is little agreement concerning the mission of the armed forces. The on-going debate has two dimensions: shaping and peacekeeping versus warfighting; and current versus future focus. Numerous politicians, defense analysts and several senior military leaders have concluded that the two-MTW requirement should be adjusted to specifically include force-sizing for peace operations. This argument is based on the experiences of the first decade of the post-Cold War period. During that time the operational commitment of U.S. military forces has increased 300 percent, and the vast majority of those deployments have been at the low end of the spectrum of conflict—shaping activities and smaller scale contingencies, not MTWs. Jeffrey Record argues that the 2-MTW force has little relevance in a world in which a "modern-day version of

imperial policing is likely to consume much of U.S. military effort."[56] The most recent articulation of this position was contained in the Phase II report of the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century, entitled "Seeking a National Strategy: A Concept for Preserving Security and Promoting Freedom." The report claims that:

> the "two major theater wars" yardstick for sizing U.S. forces is not producing the capabilities needed for the varied and complex contingencies now occurring and likely to increase in the years ahead.

It calls for a portion of U.S. force structure to be specifically tailored to humanitarian relief and constabulary missions.[57] Two noted RAND analysts have proposed replacing the two-MTW criteria with three simultaneous sizing criteria: force needs for environment shaping; force needs for one tough MRC plus stability operations in other theaters; and force needs for two "moderately difficult MRCs."[58] Even the Defense Department has begun to waver on the issue slightly. The most recent edition of the *DoD Annual Report*, in addressing the use of military force in support of primarily humanitarian interests, has removed the previous qualifier that "the U.S. military is generally not the best means of addressing a crisis."[59] This shift in emphasis is further supported by a focus on peacetime military engagement (PME) activities as the "best way" of reducing the sources of conflict and shaping the international environment.[60]

Strong voices, however, remain on the other side of the issue. General Shelton, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, indicated that the U.S. military should not carve out a portion of its force structure exclusively to handle peacekeeping missions because those operations could quickly escalate into situations that only trained warfighters could handle.[61] Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Floyd Spence, in rejecting the Commission on National Security's call to abandon the two-MTW yardstick, indicated that he fundamentally disgreed "with those who advocate shifting the composition of our armed forces toward peacekeeping and humanitarian operations at the expense of warfighting capabilities."[62] The need for a versatile and flexible force capable of responding and executing a wide range of missions is clearly recognized. The disagreement concerns where on the operational spectrum should risk be assumed—high end (major theater war) or low end (peacekeeping or humanitarian operations)—or how to posture the force to minimize risk. Force planners will have a hard time developing an acceptable force structure in the absence of consensus on this issue.

Force planners also must resolve the issue of whether to focus their efforts on the current threat or future threats. According to the NDP:

> . . . we must anticipate that future adversaries will learn from the past and confront us in very different ways. Thus we must be willing to change as well or risk having forces ill-suited to protect our security twenty years in the future. The United States needs to launch a transformation strategy now that will enable it to meet a range of security challenges in 2010 to 2020.[63]

Proponents of this view contend that the "revolution in military affairs" (RMA) will have profound effects on the way wars are fought. This model would replace the 2-MTW force with a "silicon-based" superior force that would be smaller and more flexible, emphasizing mobility, speed and agility. Warfighters would benefit from technological achievements in stealth, precision weapons, surveillance, and dominant battlefield awareness. Most RMA

proponents also contend that at present the U.S. has a threat deficit and therefore can afford to cut force structure and focus on research and development of new "sunrise systems," experimentation and innovation.[64] Critics claim that both the QDR and NDP failed to propose innovative and long-term changes in the defense program. General Shalikashvili's response to such criticism brings the issue full circle back to risk assessment and how that risk should be allocated over time:

> My admonition was that we need to do what we need to do to remain capable of defending our country and winning our nation's wars. I didn't want to get an award for innovation's sake. I didn't want anyone gambling with our nation's security just so we could be called great innovators.[65]

PLANNING SCENARIOS FOR MAJOR THEATER WAR.

It is clear that elements of both the threat-based and capabilities-based approaches must be applied to force planning. This is even more the case in periods of increased uncertainty, as demonstrated by the Base Force and the BUR. Scenarios are extremely useful to the force planner as a yardstick against which to measure the capabilities of the force. Because they reflect key aspects of future challenges the U.S. might face, well-chosen scenarios help to ensure that the yardstick used has some relationship to reality. It is also important to keep in mind that no single scenario (or pair of scenarios) will ever be completely adequate to assess force capabilities.

Does the use of scenarios, as assessment tools constitute "threat-based planning?" That common question can best be answered by posing another: "Is it possible to do serious force planning without reference, either explicitly or implicitly, to some scenarios?" The answer to the second question is clearly no. Any force structure must ultimately be judged against some expected set of operational requirements—those things that the force is expected to be able to do. This is simply another way of saying "scenarios."[66] Nevertheless, just because scenarios are used, the label "scenario-based" or "threat-based" planning should not be accepted.

Critics of the 2-MTW framework claim that the use of canonical scenarios (one in Southwest Asia and one in Korea) suppress uncertainty and do not satisfactorily measure the adequacy of U.S. force posture. Proposals include using an expanded scenario set, to include nonstandard scenarios, and examining the "scenario-space" within that set of scenarios to determine capability envelopes.[67] Scenario-space implies the iteration of numerous scenario characteristics, such as alternative force levels (threat and friendly), buildup rates, military strategies and warning time—thereby generating a range of required capabilities. Nonetheless, the canonical scenarios—Korea and the Persian Gulf—are clearly the most stressful and dangerous near-term contingencies, and have served the U.S. well by creating a requirement for high-mobility forces and a diverse posture.[68] But if fine-tuning military capabilities requires a broader look, it may be appropriate to expand the scenario set and use a scenario-space concept to examine all relevant factors.

Reassessing the scenarios must also include relooking the threats used in the planning scenarios. The Iraq and North Korean scenarios remain the most demanding, but in each case threat capability is declining.[69] In addition, the potential for opponents' adopting asymmetrical strategies could pose different security challenges than those currently contained in the MTW planning scenarios. Iran's purchase of Kilo-class submarines and its improved anti-ship missiles is one example. Finally, the near-term transformation of China into a "peer competitor" remains a concern that should be assessed in future planning scenarios.

These factors highlight the dynamic nature and the importance of continuing to reassess potential threats to U.S. interests. Adopting the scenario-space concept should account for dynamic threat assessments and provide a more robust planning tool with which to examine force requirements.

CONCLUSION.

Force planning has been and always will be a very dynamic process. Consequently, as the strategic environment changes or as the understanding of its uncertainties matures, and as both threat and friendly military capabilities evolve, there should be adjustments to the defense program.

Force planning, particularly when it is done correctly, represents the purest application of the strategic art—calculating a variable mix of ends, ways, and means. In a world characterized by uncertainty and regional instability, in which the United States has security interests that are truly global in scope, the ends are fairly clear although difficult to achieve. As the United States enters the 21st Century, the ways and means to achieve those strategic ends continue to be expressed by the 2-MTW framework. That framework is founded on a logical integration of threat and capabilities-based planning. Planners need to adapt that framework as necessary to accommodate appropriate adjustments. New approaches to planning scenarios offer the potential for such adjustment concerning the "ways" of the strategic paradigm, while force thinning and modernization are two important categories for adjusting the affordability of the strategic "means."

The experience of more than 40 years of force planning indicates that elements of both threat-based and capabilities-based planning must be applied. Figure 4 summarizes the force planning process and illustrates the integration of threat-based and capabilities-based planning.

Drawing on the logic of threat-based planning, the force planner needs realistic scenarios as a yardstick against which to measure the capabilities of a force. Adjusting the existing canonical-MTW scenarios by adopting a scenario-space approach can better ensure that all relative factors and resultant requirements are considered. As shown in the center of Figure 4 and reiterated in the NSS and NMS, the focus of force planning should remain on the evaluation of the major theater planning cases. The vast majority of force requirements are derived from these primary cases. However, it is also necessary to examine the full range of

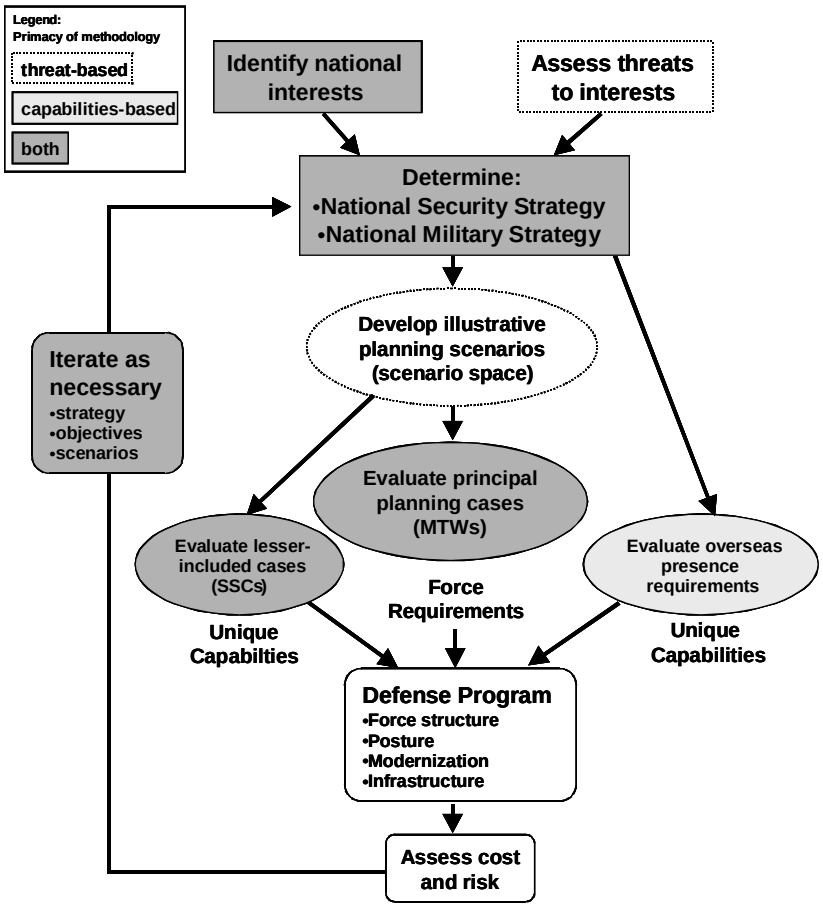

Figure 4. Force Planning.

missions directed by the National Security Strategy, such as smaller scale contingencies and overseas presence missions in order to ensure that all unique force elements have been identified. Most of the U.S. forces forward deployed constitute a deterrent posture safeguarding areas of vital interest. Thus, in those areas, these forces represent the initial crisis response portion of the MTW force. Likewise, most of the force structure elements required to execute and sustain SSCs are derived from the 2-MTW force. Nevertheless, in both cases there may be unique requirements or higher demands for certain assets not otherwise identified. Finally, resource constraints must be applied to examine the internal characteristics of the force posture and to build an affordable defense program.

The central role played by objectives in planning has been clearly demonstrated. At every level, from the President's National Security Strategy down to an individual Service's assessment of priorities, the first step in planning is to state explicitly what is to be accomplished. In addition, any useful defense planning exercise must be completed within the context of the anticipated budgetary resources available for defense. In the end, as Richard Kugler points out, integration of threat-based planning with the two types of capability-based planning ensures a process that operates in positive symbiosis:

> The central argument advanced here is that mission-based capability analysis can help gauge requirements for the U.S. conventional posture, and help build public understanding of why sizable forces are needed in an era when threats to U.S. interests are unclear. This is not to imply, however, that this methodology should entirely replace the other two approaches. Threat-based contingency analysis will still be needed to examine specific conflicts to which U.S. forces might be committed, and resource-based capability analysis will be needed to examine the internal characteristics of the force posture. The three methodologies thus are best used in tandem, as a package of techniques that can work together to shed illuminating light on conventional force needs.[70]

Force planners and strategists must rely on an appropriate mix of threat and capability-based planning that will allow the United States to achieve its strategic objectives and provide the U.S. political leadership with the answer to the question, "how much is enough?"

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER 12

1. Mackubin T. Owens, "The QDR and Future U.S. Security," *Strategic Review*, Summer 1997, p. 3.

2. Henry C. Bartlett, G. Paul Holman, Jr., and Timothy E. Somes, "The Art of Strategy and Force Planning," *Naval War College Review*, Spring 1995, p. 114.

3. Paul K. Davis, "Planning Under Uncertainty Then and Now: Paradigms Lost and Paradigms Reemerging," in *New Challenges for Defense Planning: Rethinking How Much is Enough*, ed. by Paul K. Davis, (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1994), p. 16.

4. Certain proponents of the Revoultion in Military Affairs argue that the currrent force is too large and should be cut to afford a greater emphasis on experimentation and modernization. See: Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., "Keeping Pace with the Military-Technological Revolution," *Science and Technology,* Summer 1994, pp. 23-29; and James R. Blaker, "The American RMA Force: An Alternative to the QDR," *Strategic Review*, Vol. 25 (Summer 1997), pp. 21-30. For an earlier argument on the unaffordability of the force see: Don M. Snider, "The Coming Defense Train Wreck . . .," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Winter 1996). Michael O'Hanlon, in his book *How to Be a Cheap Hawk: The 1999 and 2000 Defense Budgets* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1998), notes an annual shortfall in the defense budget of between $10 and $20 billion in the next decade. Most recently, Daniel Goure and Jeffrey Ranney argue that the defense department faces an annual shortfall of $100 billion; in *Averting the Defense Train Wreck in the New Millennium* (Washington, DC: The CSIS Press, 1999). Finally, see Harry G. Summers, Jr., *The New World Strategy: A Military Policy for America's Future* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1995), for the argument that the force is totally inadequate.

5. Harlan Ullman, *In Irons: U.S. Military Might in the New Century,* (Washington, DC: National Defense University, 1995), p. 111, identifies three related "vital" questions for force planners: "What forces are needed strategically and operationally?; What level of capability and what types of force structure are politically and economically sustainable and justifiable . . .?; and "How do we safely, sensibly, and affordably get from today's force structure and capability to that of tomorrow and properly balance the threat strategy, force structure, budget, and infrastructure relationships?"

6. The Rand Corporation happens to be the principal depository for detailed exposition on force planning methodologies. Among the most recent works on this subject, refer to the following: James A. Winnefeld, *The Post-Cold War Force-Sizing Debate: Paradigms, Metaphors, and Disconnects*, (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1992); Richard L. Kugler, *U.S. Military Strategy and Force Posture for the 21st Century: Capabilities and Requirements*, (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1994); and Paul K. Davis, ed., *New Challenges for Defense Planning: Rethinking How Much is Enough*, (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1994). In this last work, refer particularly to "Part

Two: Principles for Defense Planning," pp. 15-132. Finally, Zalmay M. Khalilzad and David A. Ochmanek, ed., *Strategy and Defense Planning for the 21st Century* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1997).

7. Winnefeld, p. 8.

8. Quoted in Russell F. Weigley, *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy,* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1973), p. 380.

9. Millet and Maslowski, *For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States of America,* (New York: The Free Press, 1984), p. 496.

10. *Ibid*., pp. 511-512. See also, Kaufmann, *Planning Conventional Forces 1950-80,* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1982), p. 3. This requirement is very similar to the Army's Strategic Mobility Plan, first announced in 1991 as the Army's goal for the Mobility Requirements Study. The recently promulgated Army Vision statement has upped the ante with an objective of 5 Army divisions deployed within 30 days. Eric K. Shinseki and Louis Caldera, "The Army Vision Statement," available from *http://www.army.mil/-armyvision/vision.htm. Internet*.

11. For the Common Defense, pp. 530-535; and Henry Kissinger, *White House Years*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), p. 220.

12. Paul K. Davis, "Planning Under Uncertainty Then and Now: Paradigms Lost and Paradigms Emerging," in Paul Davis, ed., *New Challenges for Defense Planning: Rethinking How Much is Enough,* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1994), pp. 16-18. Also refer to Paul Davis and Lou Finch, *Defense Planning for the Post-Cold War Era*, (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1993), pp. 157-160, for a review of this period. The referenced portion of the DPG guidance for conventional forces employed in contingency operations reads like it comes from the last two NMS documents.

13. Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., *The Army and Vietnam,* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), p. 117.

14. William Kaufmann, *Assessing the Base Force: How Much is too Much?*, (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1992), p. 29.

15. Kissinger, p. 222.

16. DoD Annual Report 1976, (Washington, DC: USGPO, 1976), p. 114.

17. Davis, ed., *New Challenges for Defense Planning,* pp. 26-27. Defense planning for Southwest Asia illustrates how interconnected threat—and capabilities-based planning are. Various threats to a vital national interest (free flow of oil) are recognized and the U.S. decides to develop capabilities to protect that interest. Some analysts consider this to be a prime example of capabilities-based planning. However, those capabilities are specifically sized and postured against a range of fairly precise threatening capabilities. Because it is a range of threats (somewhat uncertain, but then again most planners recognize that even very specific scenarios are not predictive) this is viewed as capabilities-based planning. This points out the very thin line between the two planning methodologies, particularly when it comes to actually building the force, in this case the RDJTF.

18. *Ibid*., pp. 27-28. See also, Lorna S. Jaffe, *The Development of the Base Force 1989-1992*, (Washington, DC: Joint History Office (OCJCS), July 1993), p. 4. For a discussion of multifront conflicts refer to Harold Brown, *Thinking About National Security*, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983), pp. 178-182. Brown indicated that it would be advantageous for the Soviets to conduct diversionary operations in secondary theaters to complicate U.S. and Allied planning. Such operations would divert forces from the critical front—Central Europe. U.S. recognition of this problem resulted in a continuing focus on Europe.

19. DoD Annual Report to Congress 1984, (Washington, DC: USGPO, February 1, 1983), p. 191. This section of the report details the plans and issues related to the development of the RDF and CENTCOM. The planning force consisted of 4-2/3 division equivalents (Army and Marines) and seven tactical fighter wings. The present day MTW building block has a longer history than most people realize.

20. Kugler, p. 19.

21. Davis, "Planning Under Uncertainty," pp. 28-29, and Davis and Finch, *Defense Planning for the Post-Cold War Era,* pp. 163-164. William Kaufmann offers a similar conclusion in his *Planning Conventional Forces 1950-80,* p. 24:

> Do these difficulties mean that conventional force planning has been off on a wild goose chase for the last twenty years? . . . In fact, no one has yet devised a serious planning substitute for (a) the development and analysis of plausible but hypothetical campaigns in specific theaters, (b) for the determination of the forces needed to bring about the desired military outcomes in those specific theaters, and (c) difficult judgments about the number of contingencies for which U.S. conventional forces should be prepared.

22. According to William Kaufmann and John Steinbruner, *Decisions for Defense: Prospects for a New World Order*, (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1991), p. 6:

> . . . most presidents, . . . have been willing to bet that if the forces to cover the most threatening contingencies could be acquired and maintained at acceptable cost, they could divert enough of these forces to handle lesser cases without undue risk.

23. Paul K. Davis, "Institutionalizing Planning for Adaptiveness," *New Challenges for Defense Planning,* p. 81.

24. As mentioned in the text this was a close-hold process, at least initially until the structure and critical decisions were in place. Only afterwards did the details of the deliberations leading to the Base Force become public. By far the single best source is Jaffe, *The Development of the Base Force: 1989-1992*.

25. Jaffe, p. 25. General Powell reveals in his autobiography, *My American Journey*, an interesting incident related to the budgetary implications of his desired force. Based on an interview he had given, *The Washington Post* reported on May 7, 1990, that "the nation's top military officer predicted a restructured military could lead to a 25 percent lower defense budget." Powell goes on to relate that, at the time Secretary Cheney had publicly proposed cutting the Pentagon budget, but by only 2 percent a year over the next 6 years. Powell and Cheney's frank discussion closes out this story. Colin Powell, *My American Journey*, (New York: Ballentine Books, 1995), pp. 441-442.

26. Quoted in Kaufmann, *Decisions for Defense*, p. 45.

27. Kugler, *U.S. Military Strategy and Force Posture,* p. 35. General Powell defined those missions very broadly: "We no longer have the luxury of having a threat to plan for. What we plan for is that we're a superpower. We are the major player on the world stage with responsibilities [and] interests around the world." Quoted in Kaufmann, *Decisions for Defense*, p. 47.

28. Report of the Secretary of Defense to the President and the Congress, (Washington, DC: USGPO, January 1991), p. 4; and *National Military Strategy of the United States,*(Washington, DC: USGPO, January 1992), pp. 19-24, hereafter referred to as the NMS *92*.

29. Les Aspin, *National Security in the 1990s: Defining a New Basis for U.S. Military Forces,* before the Atlantic Council of the United States, January 6, 1992, pp. 5-6.

30. Les Aspin, *An Approach to Sizing American Conventional Forces For the Post-Soviet Era,* February 25, 1992.

31. Colin L. Powell, "U.S. Forces: Challenges Ahead," *Foreign Affairs,* Winter 1992/93, Vol. 71, No. 5, p. 41. See also Powell, *My American Journey,* p. 438.

32. Dick Cheney, *Annual Report to the President and the Congress*, Washington, DC: GPO, February 1992, p. 8.

33. NMS 92, p. 11.

34. "The Army Base Force—Not a Smaller Cold War Army," Discussion Paper from the Department of the Army's War Plans Division, dated February 1992. See also Kaufmann and Steinbruner, *Decisions for Defense*, p. 27. The authors make the following point:

> How many contingencies might occur simultaneously, and in how many separate theaters the United States should be prepared to become engaged at any one time, was not made clear. However, the assumption appears to be that the Pentagon should have the capability to deal with at least two major regional contingencies . . .

35. Powell, *My American Journey*, p. 564. Although the supporting analysis behind the Base Force included wargaming the two "canonical-scenarios"—MRC-East and MRC-West, the 1992 National Military Strategy presented the force, as discussed above, as a capabilities-based force. The closest the NMS comes to recognizing a 2-MTW requirement is the following from the Crisis Response section:

> Our strategy also recognizes that when the United States is responding to one substantial regional crisis, potential aggressors in other areas may be tempted to take advantage of our preoccupation. Thus, we can not reduce forces to a level which would leave us or our allies vulnerable elsewhere.

NMS 1992, p. 7. Using the same rationale, 1 year later with the publication of the Bottom Up Review (BUR), the two-MTW requirement was officially unveiled.

36. Les Aspin, *Report of the Bottom Up* Review (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, October 1993). BUR: methodology—p. 4; missions—p. 13; force sizing—p. 7. No other administration has provided the degree of transparency in its force planning deliberations as represented by the BUR. The detailed wargaming analysis done by J8 is not presented for obvious reasons in an unclassified publication. Nonetheless, contrast this with the history of the Base Force (Jaffe), which was not published until at least 2 years after the fact.

37. Richard Kugler, *Toward a Dangerous World* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1995), pp. 212-213. According to General Powell:

> It took us 9 months to finish the BUR, and we ended up again with a defense based on the need to fight two regional wars, the Bush strategy, but with Clinton campaign cuts.

American Journey, p. 564.

38. George C. Wilson, *This War Really Matters: Inside the Fight for Defense Dollars* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2000), p. 15.

39. *Report of the Quadrennial Defense Review* (Washington, DC: Department of Defense, May 1997), p. v. Although sticking with the same basic force requirement, the QDR did provide a small degree of innovation in redefining this requirement from 2-MRC's to 2-MTWs. The MRC concept, as first defined in the Bush administration, referred to major regional contingencies. The BUR adjusted the term to major regional conflicts,

obviously retaining the same acronym. The QDR accepted the requirement but changed the name to major theater war (MTW).

40. *Ibid*., p. 23.

41. *Ibid*., p. 12.

42. Elaine M. Grossman, "Defense Officials Eye Small-Scale Ops as Organizing Yardstick," *Inside the Pentagon*, March 30, 2000, p. 2.

43. *QDR*, p. 24.

44. *Transforming Defense: National Security in the 21st Century*, Report of the National Defense Panel, December 1997, p. 23.

45. *Ibid*., p. 1.

46. *Strategic Defence Review*, July 1998; available from *http://www.mod.uk/policy/sdr.html*; Internet; accessed March 16, 2000. A detailed discussion of the SDR process is found in Supporting Essay One: The Strategic Defence Review Process, and the details of the capabilities assessment are included in Supporting Essay Six: Future Military Capabilities, with tables.

47. DoD Annual Report 96, pp. vii-viii. All of the arguments supporting a 2-MTW force posture were reiterated in the *QDR*, pp. 12-13.

48. *A National Security Strategy for a New Century*, (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, December 1999), p. 19.

49. DoD Annual Report 96, p. 14.

50. BUR, p. 7. This point is also made in *NSS 96*, p. 14, and in the *DoD Annual Report 96*, p. 5. General Colin Powell's 1992 NMS presents the same rationale:

> Our strategy also recognizes that when the United States is responding to one substantial regional crisis, potential aggressors in other areas may be tempted to take advantage of our preoccupation. Thus, we can not reduce forces to a level which would leave us or our allies vulnerable elsewhere.

NMS 92.

51. Winnefeld, p. 18.

52. This point is made in both the *NSS 98*, p. 22, where it refers to the "two theater" force, and in the *DoD Annual Report 96,* 5. The *BUR* refers to this argument as a hedge against an uncertain future:

> . . . it is difficult to predict precisely what threats we will confront ten to twenty years from now. In this dynamic and unpredictable post-Cold War world, we must maintain the military capabilities that are flexible and sufficient to cope with unforeseen threats.

BUR, p. 19.

53. General John M. Shalikashvili, *CJCS Written Statement to Congress*, March 1996, p. 18.

54. NSS 98, p. 22.

55. Jeffrey Record, *The Creeping Irrelevance of U.S. Force Planning* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, May 19, 1998), p. 1.

56. The United States Commission on National Security/21st Century, "Seeking a National Strategy: A Concept for Preserving Security and Promoting Freedom," April 15, 2000, pp. 14-15.

57. Paul K. Davis and Richard L. Kugler, "New Principles for Force Sizing," in *Strategy and Defense Planning for the 21st Century*, ed. by Zalmay M. Khalilzad and David A. Ochmanek (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1997), pp. 103-104.

58. William S. Cohen, *Annual Report to the President and the Congress*, (Washington, DC: GPO, 1999), p. 4; and *Annual Report to the President and the Congress*, (Washington, DC: GPO, 2000), p. 4. The 1999 version contains the qualifier quoted above as well as other potential constraints on the use of force in support of humanitarian operations. The 2000 version has removed most, but not all of those constraints.

59. General Henry H. Shelton, *Posture Statement before the 106th Congress, House Armed Services Committee*, February 8, 2000. Available from *http://www.dtic.mil/jcs/core/Posture00.html*, Internet.

60. "Shelton Rejects Idea of Separate Peacekeeping Force," *European Stars and Stripes*, April 27, 2000, p. 8.

61. Floyd D. Spence, "Statement of Chairman Spence on the Release of the Commission on National Security/21st Century Phase II Report," *Press Release*, April 19, 2000.

62. *NDP*, p. i.

63. See Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., "Keeping Pace with the Military-Technological Revolution," *Science and Technology*, Summer 1994, pp. 23-29.

64. Quoted in Wilson, p. 72.

65. David Ochmanek, "Planning Under Uncertainty: A User's Guide to the Post-Cold War World," Rand—unpublished paper, September 19, 1995, p. 15.

66. Davis, "Institutionalizing Planning for Adaptiveness," *New Challenges for Defense Planning*, 81-84. See also: Davis and Finch, *Defense Planning for the Post Cold-War Era,* pp. 43-52; Kugler, *Toward a Dangerous World*, p. 270; and Paul K. Davis, David Gompert and Richard Kugler, *Adaptiveness in National Defense: The Basis of a New Framework*, Issue Paper, National Defense Research Institute, August 1996.

67. Kugler, *Toward a Dangerous World,* p. 258.

68. Anthony Cordesman, author of a recent study on Iraqi military capabilities, states that, "The Iraqi military is in an accelerating decline that has picked up since 1994." "Sanctions, Not Missiles, Sap Iraq,," *Defense News*, Vol. 11, No. 36 (September 9-15, 1996), p. 4. Concerning Korea, The *Washington Times* reports: "North Korea's military forces have suffered a steady decline in capability that has shifted the balance of power in favor of South Korea." "North Korea's Slide Ends Military Edge," *Washington Times*, December 13, 1996, p. 18. In addition refer to "Dim Prospects Seen for N. Korean Regime," *Washington Post*, August 10, 1996, p. A24; and "N. Korea Called Top U.S. Threat," *Washington Times*, February 6, 1997, p. 6.

69. Kugler, *U.S. Military Strategy and Force Posture*, p. 185.